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Spartan Boys: John Ford and Philip Sidney

In the Prologue to *The Broken Heart*, Ford begins by unequivocally placing his play within its geographical location: 'Our scene is Sparta' are the first words spoken on stage.¹ He goes on first to define the play as a serious piece of work, and then to make an assertion which has aroused considerable speculation:

What may be here thought a fiction, when time's youth
Wanted some riper years, was known a truth.

(Prologue, ll.14-15)

This has often been taken to refer to the real-life relationship between Penelope Rich, sister of the Earl of Essex and the 'Stella' of *Astrophil and Stella*, and Sir Philip Sidney.² The story of Orgilus and Penthea certainly does have elements in common with that of Sidney and his Stella, while the names of Ford's characters may well seem to echo those of Argalus and Parthenia, who feature in one of the numerous sub-plots of the new *Arcadia*, and 'the general indebtedness of Ford's play to Sidney's *Arcadia* has been noticed'.³ But Ford's Spartan setting is a stark counterpoint to Sidney's lush one of *Arcadia*, though even it, in the second version of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, is under threat from insurrection in neighbouring Sparta. Moreover, Ford further offsets his use of Sparta by evoking the other Greek cities of Athens, Delphi and Argos, all in ways which invite comparison; and when he draws on Sidney in another play, *The Lover's Melancholy*, he again avoids *Arcadia* and places the action in Cyprus.⁴ It is this use of common motifs but in pointedly different locations which I wish to focus on.

Ford's borrowings from Sidney are extensive and sustained. In both *The Broken Heart* and the *Arcadia*, events unfold against the backdrop of a riddling oracle which has foretold the fall from power of the present royal family. In Sidney, too, the King of Laconia is called Amiclas, matching Ford's Amyclas; Parthenia when deformed refuses to marry Argalus, just as Penthea refuses Orgilus, though Parthenia later, in disguise, tries to trick Argalus into marrying her with a ring, rather as Calantha asserts her wedding to Ithocles. There are other parallels: when Pyrocles tells Philoclea his identity she has 'a divided mind' (p.106; N.A, p.329), just as Euphranea has when Prophilus proposes marriage to her; Argalus, who like Orgilus bleeds to death (N.A., p. 507), has bleeding hearts embroidered by Parthenia upon his sleeve (N.A., p. 504); Cecropia, like Nearchus, is the child of the King of Argos, and hopes that her son Amphialus will succeed his uncle Basileus as king, as Nearchus succeeds his uncle Amyclas. And there are also links with other Ford plays. In *The Old Arcadia*, Pyrocles' name when in disguise is Cleophila, in honour of Philoclea, and this is the name of the heroine's sister in *The Lover's Melancholy* (set in Cyprus, original home of Sidney's Gynecia [O.A., p.4]); Pamphilus in the new version womanises in the same way as Ferentes in *Love's Sacrifice*, and suffers the same fate of death at the hands of those he has deceived. Gynecia, in a phrase suggestive of the fate of Annabella, would in the revision 'pull out her own heart' to heal Zelmane's wounds (p.623), while Cleophila in the old version affirms 'for a sure sacrifice I do daily oblation offer / Of my own heart' (O.A., p.78).. Pyrocles in the new version anticipates Giovanni's curiosity about the nature of the afterlife when he speculates that 'I

perceive we shall have a debate in the other world, if at least there remain anything of remembrance in that place' (p.804). And when Sidney in the original dedication to his sister refers to the work as 'this child which I am loath to father', he comes very close to the language of incest and illegitimacy which colours *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*. Even the exchange between Musidorus and Cleophila on the philosophy of heavenly fancies (O.A., p.25) may remind us of ways in which we may read the otherwise baffling philosophy of love in *The Fancies Chaste and Noble*.

Moreover, Sidney's is not the only version of Arcadia upon which Ford draws. Both Sidney and Ford, having received the benefits of extensive classical educations, were at some pains to invest their chosen settings with authenticity. As Katherine Duncan-Jones points out, '[a]ppropriately for a romance set in Ancient Greece, [Sidney] turned to the late Greek romances for much of his setting and plot material. He drew fairly heavily on Heliodorus's *An Aethiopian History*...He seems also to have made some use of Achilles Tatius' *Clitophon and Leucippe*, and Apuleius's Latin *Golden Ass*.'⁵ He also, however, looked to more modern sources, drawing extensively on Jacopo Sannazaro's 1504 *Arcadia*.⁶ Sannazaro is the only writer referred to directly by Ford in a play, when he has Soranzo say in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*:

'Love's measure is extreme, the comfort pain,

The life unrest, and the reward disdain.'

What's here? Look't o'er again. 'Tis so, so writes

This smooth, licentious poet in his rhymes.

But Sannazar, thou liest, for had thy bosom
Felt such oppression as is laid on mine,
Thou would'st have kissed the rod that made thee smart.
To work then, happy muse, and contradict
What Sannazar hath in his envy writ.
'Love's measure is the mean, sweet his annoys,
His pleasure's life, and his reward all joys.'
Had Annabella liv'd when Sannazar
Did in his brief encomium celebrate
Venice, that queen of cities, he had left
That verse which gain'd him such a sum of gold,
And for one only look from Annabel
Had writ of her and her diviner cheeks.⁷

This is an unusually literary passage for Ford, and strongly sustained and developed. The quality of engagement with Sannazaro as a writer and as a historical figure is astonishing. It notes when and where he lived, his probable emotional state, the precise words and general drift of his poem, and even the amount he was paid for it. 'Turning others' leaves', like Astrophil in his first sonnet, and contemplating measure in love, like Musidorus trying to dissuade Pyrocles from loving by pointing to love's absence of measure, Soranzo glosses and reworks the text before him, responding to it more closely and precisely than he ever does to Annabella herself - indeed there is a pointed contrast between her stichomythic defeat of him and his power to re-form Sannazaro's couplet (as his own name, indeed, re-forms and nearly anagrammatizes that of the poet).

Ford, like Soranzo and like Sidney, was an engaged reader who researched his work carefully, as his use of Sannazaro shows. For Perkin Warbeck, he made close study of his two principal sources, Bacon and Gainsford; for *Love's Sacrifice*, he drew, as I have shown elsewhere, on retellings of the life of Carlo Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa;⁸ in *The Lady's Trial* and *The Fancies Chaste and Noble*, he is precise in his use of authentic Italian detail.⁹ For his two classical plays, *The Lover's Melancholy* and *The Broken Heart*, his preparation seems to have been no less careful. He matches the mood and the characters, the plots and the learning of his Arcadian sources. And yet he pointedly eschews their most defining and constitutive factor, the use of Arcadia itself.

For Sidney, Arcadia had been a very useful location. Its holiday humour allows him to write some of the most politically risky literature of the sixteenth century, engaging in debates about the nature and rights of monarchy so potentially subversive that they have often been seen as placing him firmly within the camp of the monarchomachs.¹⁰ In particular, the question of female rule is repeatedly addressed both in the Arcadia itself and in works by other members of the Sidney family: the Countess of Pembroke, for instance, translated Garnier's play about that most celebrated of queens, Cleopatra, and her niece Mary Wroth had her heroine Pamphilia recognised heiress to her uncle's kingdom in the Urania despite the fact that she possessed brothers - an obvious analogy to Wroth's own claim to be inheritrix of her uncle Sir Philip's literary talent, though at

the same time, she, like Ford, avoids his classical setting by making the locations of her own romance far more contemporary in feel, such as Morea and Romania. Within the Arcadia itself are many rulers of problematic wisdom, ranging from the downright foolish Basilius to the dangerously over-confident Euarchus (the best that is to be had, his name implies, but by no means perfect). The whole work adopts an intensely complex approach to the question of rule, and is rarely more pointedly ambiguous than when it deals with the political dynamite of queens regnant. Habitually, Sidney's technique is sarcasm, as when he is describing Antiphilus as king as 'presuming so far upon himself that what he did was liked of everybody, nay, that his disgraces were favours, and all because he was a king';¹¹ he plays the same game when he describes a queen (interestingly, the queen of Laconia, another name for Sparta) as 'a queen and therefore beautiful' (N.A., p.159). Occasionally, he is more direct: Cleophila in *The Old Arcadia* says, 'An unused thing it is, and I think not heretofore seen, O Arcadians, that a woman should give public counsel to men' (O.A., p.113), though here the situation is in fact complicated by the fact that Cleophila is actually Pyrocles in disguise.

In Sidney, of course, the question of female rule is rendered massively problematic by the presence of Elizabeth on the throne - and of Mary, Queen of Scots in prison. When Pamela in her captivity sews (N.A., p.483), we may think of Mary's famous embroideries; when the princesses are seemingly executed in the great hall, we may remember Fotheringhay; when Erona is loathed by her people and imprisoned for her poor choice of husband (N.A., p.402), we may well recall Bothwell, but when she writes with a diamond

on her window-pane in prison she is much closer to Elizabeth I. Similarly, Philoclea's blonde hair and blue eyes (N.A., p.146) and Pyrocles' reference to her as 'my only star' (N.A., p.741) point so obviously to Penelope Devereux Rich that we may also remember the Devereux family's own relationship to Queen Elizabeth, through their shared Boleyn ancestors (and the striking physical resemblance between the queen and her cousin Lettice, Penelope's mother).

If Arcadia can be used by Sidney as a locus where these serious issues can be treated without serious danger, Sparta in the Renaissance carried very different ideological and connotative baggage, which Ford makes careful use of. Rowland Wymer has recently termed Sparta 'a state which resembled Rome in the range of connotations it possessed for the Renaissance'.¹² Many of these were, largely, favourable. R. Jordan has pointed out the parallel between the account of Calantha's dance and Plutarch's account, in the life of King Agesilaus, of how the Spartans bore the news of the disastrous battle of Leuctra,¹³ and T.J.B. Spencer, investigating the merits of this claim and of other alleged sources, concludes that 'Ford, intent on writing a play set in Sparta, may well have looked at the life of the Spartan King Agesilaus, and that a memory of the Spartan fortitude in refusing to interrupt the festive dances when disastrous news arrived may have remained with him'.¹⁴ Spencer moves on to offer a detailed study of Ford's use of Sparta, arguing that 'in *The Broken Heart* he is trying to make a fairly careful historical construction, to build up a classical religious and philosophical background to the events of the play'.¹⁵ He points to Pausanias as a possible source for some of Ford's details, particularly the

prevalence of oracles, and suggests that Sparta might have meant three main things to Ford:

powers of endurance and self-restraint (Lamb rightly reminded us, in his note to the play, of ‘the fortitude of the Spartan boy who let a beast gnaw out his bowels till he died without expressing a groan’;...brevity and conciseness of speech (‘laconism’);...the chastity and moral strength of their women.¹⁶

He cites several instances of this emphasis on the virtue of Spartan women, including examples in work by Massinger, an associate of Ford’s, writing to Ford’s own dedicatee the Earl of Pembroke; but he also suggests that Calantha’s comments on her own unsuitability for rule reflect the fact that Sparta disallowed female succession. (Foxes and women are in fact brought suggestively together when Grausis is termed a ‘bitch-fox’ at II.i.119, and foxes are also evoked when Bassanes’ desire to stop the windows so clearly recalls what is done to Celia in *Volpone*).

Ford treats the topic of female rule rather differently from Sidney. Though Calantha has a will of iron, she refuses to reign, and justifies her decision at considerable length:

Now tell me, you whose loyalties pays tribute
To us your lawful sovereign, how unskilful
Your duties or obedience is to render
Subjection to the sceptre of a virgin,
Who have been ever fortunate in princes
Of masculine and stirring composition?
A woman has enough to govern wisely

Her own demeanours, passions, and divisions.

A nation warlike, and inured to practice

Of policy and labour, cannot brook

A feminine authority: we therefore

Command your counsel, how you may advise us

In choosing of a husband whose abilities

Can better guide this kingdom.

(V.iii.2-15)

There are obvious ironies here: Calantha is clearly able to exercise her 'feminine authority' when she 'command[s]... counsel', and we are aware that her decision is at least as much as a result of personal considerations - her breaking heart - as of political ones. Nevertheless, the very existence of that breaking heart provides evidence for her assertion that 'A woman has enough to do to govern wisely / Her own demeanours, passions, and divisions', for she, like Sidney's Erona before her, finds herself, though queen of a kingdom, slave to her passions. By the time Ford writes, such a portrayal of the female ruler is virtually stereotypical: Shakespeare's Cleopatra, Webster's Duchess of Malfi, and Marlowe's Dido had all found their ability to govern impaired and eventually destroyed by the entanglements of their private lives. But we must also be aware that in one sense her decision is as arbitrary, and as contrary to what those around her think and want, as Penthea's refusal to marry Orgilus even if she is widowed. Both women are revealing internalised ideologies which dam the springs of life.

This tragic rather than comic slant, along with the pointed reminder of the passing away of female rule, may well help to explain why, despite Ford's obvious engagement with the Arcadian worlds of both Sannazaro and Sidney, he himself never uses the Arcadian setting. He focuses instead on a Sparta to which he gives 'an importance not assigned to any other state in Tudor-Stuart drama outside plays about English or, on occasion, Roman history',¹⁷ and he uses it to draw a 'parallel between Sparta and England':¹⁸

The Sparta of *The Broken Heart* is Ford's own creation, although it is based in important respects on the Renaissance image of Sparta. Ford emphasizes his characters' sense of duty to their country and the fortitude of his heroines, and he presents Sparta as a warrior state...Sparta provided an appropriate setting for Ford's purposes because it was identified with a distinctive and admirable civic ideal embodied in a particular state. That ideal as Ford presents it in *The Broken Heart* is essentially the sublimation of private self in public duty. As an ideal Sparta is most appropriately embodied in the persons of her rulers, Amyclas, Calantha, and finally Nearchus.¹⁹

If that is so, Ford is registering some profound differences from Sidney. Sidney's Laconia is wrecked by civil war (N.A., p.70); his rulers are by no means unproblematically their states' best citizens. On both counts, Ford, in other respects so close to Sidney, seems unaccountably distanced here. And Ford's avoidance of Arcadia is perhaps all the more noticeable in terms of its general prevalence elsewhere in late Jacobean and early Caroline culture. In Chelsea, Sir John Danvers, relative of Ford's dedicatees the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, was creating a garden specifically designed as an Arcadia, and court masques for Henrietta Maria evoked a similar mood.²⁰

Marion Lomax suggests that Ford's Sparta is in fact no less contemporary than these

Caroline Arcadias:

By setting the play in ancient Sparta, Ford has ensured that the conventions of the society represented in it reinforce the heroine's response to her situation. Ford can be criticised for imposing a Spartan setting on an otherwise Jacobean society in order to make the dramatic climax he desired more meaningful. Calantha relives the Spartan reception of death news, but Armostes, Bassanes and Orgilus reflect the audience's response of surprise, and therefore stress Calantha's solitary position.²¹

If Sparta is indeed Ford's vision of his own society, it certainly makes sense to present it as a deliberate contrast to the Arcadian vision so constantly offered to the king and queen.

That there were less positive aspects to the Spartan myth is forcefully recorded by Robert Garland:

The Spartan educational programme...institutionalised lying and stealing by requiring children aged twelve to perform tests which were intended to instil these 'social skills' in its future citizens, who would grow up to be devious and alert...

'Everyone in antiquity knew the improving story of the Spartan boy who was apprehended while trying to steal a young fox which he had hidden under his cloak. Rather than endure the humiliation of being publicly punished for his incompetent thievery, he persistently denied the theft, while the fox tore at his stomach with its teeth and claws. The inspiring result was that the child bled to death.'²²

For Sidney, Arcadia had been a playland in which he could discuss political systems and dangerous political issues in an atmosphere of comparative safety. For Ford, it seems, such a world no longer exists. He tells a story, in *Perkin Warbeck*, of a disguised prince, but it is in a historical mode, not a pastoral one, and it has an unhappy ending. He tells a story, in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, of a man who reads Sannazaro, but it is not the arcadian but the civic works which he reads, and he is a player in a city tragedy.²³ He tells a story of a character who shares a name with Sidney's Cleophila, but he sets it in Cyprus, the island home of Venus, focuses it primarily on love, and only hints at the continued political fallout from a disastrous previous reign, as when Rhetias speaks of a tottering commonwealth (I.ii.5-13) and Sophronos of a sick one (II.i.16). Finally, he tells a story which seems virtually to be modelled on Sidney's own life, but moves it from Arcadia to the bleakness of Sparta. Sparta, as he knew from Sidney's depiction of Pyrocles as captain of helots, had a repressive political system premised on slavery; Ford tightens that still further by allowing political power only to males. Indeed he deliberately characterises Spartan society as foreclosing on political activity in the opening exchanges of the play:

Crotolon...

Athens? pray why to Athens? you intend not

To kick against the world, turn Cynic, Stoic,

Or read the logic lecture, or become

An Areopagite, and judge in causes

Touching the commonwealth? For, as I take it,

The budding of your chin cannot prognosticate

So grave an honour.

...

if books and love of knowledge

Inflame you to this travel, here in Sparta

You may as freely study.

(I.i.5-14)

‘Here in Sparta / You may as freely study’; but not, it seems, do other things. The list of opportunities which Croton associates exclusively with Athens is an interesting one: it offers the chance to study philosophy and logic, or to participate in the judicio-political processes of the Areopagus (though only for those of mature years). It is, in short, a location for freedom of thought and for democracy.

If Sparta is contrasted with Athens here, later in the play it is expressly set against a vision of Arcadia, as Penthea and Ithocles join in antiphonal lament for their plight:

Penthea. The handmaid to the wages

Of country toil drinks the untroubled streams

With leaping kids and with the bleating lambs,

And so allays her thirst secure; whiles I

Quench my hot sighs with fleetings of my tears.

Ithocles. The labourer doth eat his coarsest bread,

Earned with his sweat, and lies him down to sleep;

While every bit I touch turns in digestion

To gall, as bitter as Penthea’s curse.

Put me to any penance for my tyranny,
And I will call thee merciful.

(III.ii.54-64)

Briefly, the tragic pair imagine the pastoral; but they have been irretrievably alienated from it by tyranny, forced marriage and suffering. Throughout Ford's works there are moments when we are made forcibly aware of the extent to which character and narrative are locked in the defining grip of genre. In *The Lover's Melancholy*, Palador initially rejects Eroclea with the terms 'Cunning imposter!' (IV.iii.80), 'There's witchcraft in thy language' (IV.iii.100) and 'counterfeit' (IV.iii.107). All three accusations, of imposture, witchcraft, and counterfeiting, are also levelled against Perkin Warbeck, but although his story is no more inherently unlikely than Eroclea's, the difference of genre makes us only too well aware that it will be very differently received.²⁴ A similar genre constriction seems to characterise Penthea's and Ithocles' recognition that they are precluded from the experiences of Arcadia.

Upon Orgilus' apparent return, Athens again becomes the comparator for Sparta, when Amyclas approaches him with:

Hark in thine ear - if out of those inventions

Which flow in Athens thou hast there engrossed

Some rarity of wit to grace the nuptials

Of thy fair sister and renown our court

In th'eyes of this young prince, we shall be debtor

To thy conceit.

(III.iii.58-63)

It is Athens in its capacity of home of drama, and city of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, that is remembered here. Historically, Sparta had indeed no such tradition; here, the need to call on Orgilus' experiences of Athenian 'wit' richly images the complete absence in Spartan life of any sense of flexibility of role. The characters' vowed identities have rigidly circumscribed all potential for them; like Fanny Price, they cannot act. And indeed, despite this hint, they never try; Orgilus' 'wit' is, characteristically, a simple murder that eschews the play-within-the-play device that may here seem to be foreshadowed.

Athens is again invoked by Bassanes in his distress after the death of Penthea. In soliloquy, he muses:

Athens, to Athens I have sent, the nursery
Of Greece for learning, and the fount of knowledge;
For here in Sparta there's not left amongst us
One wise man to direct; we're all turned madcaps.

(V.i.1-4)

Here the implicit inferiority complex which has characterised all previous mentions of Athens by Spartans is overtly articulated. This stronger statement of the case may indeed suggest not only that Bassanes is simply being more forthright, but that the distance between the two states has in fact widened during the course of the play: Tecnicus has departed, the king is on his deathbed. What we have seen, then, may be not simply the state of Sparta in its inherent condition, but the state of Sparta in a spiral of rapid decline,

as figured in the cluster of images of decay in the prophecy expounded by Tecnicus. In a sense, to be a Spartan in this play is thus to be trapped within a culture of deterioration.

One reason why Sparta has come to be thus characterised may be found in a play which seems to be very obviously a source for part of the plot of *The Broken Heart*, Chapman's *The Widow's Tears*. Set in Cyprus, home of the goddess of love and location of Ford's *The Lover's Melancholy*, Chapman's comedy makes ongoing fun of its party of visiting Spartans, who are insistently characterised as Scots. Since Chapman was writing shortly after the accession of James I,²⁵ the satirical intent is quite obvious, and makes for an interesting sidelight on Verna Ann Foster's and Stephen Foster's argument that *The Broken Heart*, too, remembers the events surrounding James I's accession. Like Calantha, Eudora is sought in marriage by a lord who is cousin to the ruler of the country, but the figure of Eudora's suitor, Rebus, is treated very differently from that of Nearchus:

A Spartan lord, dating himself our great Viceroy's kinsman, and two or three other of his country lords, as spots in his train. He comes armed with his Altitude's letters in grace of his person, with promise to make her a duchess if she embrace the match. This is no mean attraction to her high thoughts, but yet she disdains him.

(I.ii.18-23)

We are soon informed of the possible reasons why she might do so, when Lycus continues:

Nay, I hold no comparison betwixt your brother and him. And the venerean disease, to which they saw he has been long wedded, shall I hope first rot him ere she endure the savor of his sulphurous breath.

(I.ii.31-34)

The negative characterisation continues as Rebus is accused of poverty, a common jibe against James I's Scots followers:

REBUS....You speak as I had no house to hide my head in.

EUDORA. I have heard so indeed, my lord, unless it be another man's.

(I.ii.54-6)

Soon afterwards Tharsalio dismisses the Spartans outright as 'Whoreson bagpipe lords!' (I.ii.109), while Lycus assumes that Eudora's melancholy is caused by 'the sight of her Spartan wooer' (II.iii.37). Tharsalio even dismisses Rebus' vaunted claim to kinship with the governor:

Madam, I come not to command your love with enforced letters, nor to woo you with tedious stories of my pedigree, as he who draws the thread of his descent from Leda's distaff, when 'tis well known his grandsire cried cony skins in Sparta.

(II.iv.138-142)

He terms Rebus and his followers 'Sparta-Velvets' (II.iv.184), which the note suggests is of obviously derogatory intent, and refers to 'a fool, and a base, low-spirited Spartan' (II.iv.214-5). Later Lysander, disguised as a soldier to court his own wife, adjures her, 'Die not for a hunger, like a Spartan lady' (IV.ii.106), which both maintains the joke about Scots poverty and also interestingly foreshadows the death of Penthea.²⁶

The appropriateness of 'Sparta' for cant connotations of 'Scotland' is easily traceable. Hunger and privation feature prominently in the popular images of both, as in Othello when Lodovico terms Iago 'Spartan dog, / More fell than anguish, hunger, or the sea'.²⁷ There is also the idea of Sparta/Scotland as troublesome near neighbour of Arcadia/England, and one might indeed speculate that this could already be present as early as *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* itself, which, like Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, may well have been informed by the author's personal experience of English foreign and domestic policy, which were both so strongly geared to containing the threat posed by Mary, Queen of Scots. But this instance of possible correspondence between the Spartas of Ford and of Sidney should also serve to remind us of their discrepancies, for Ford's relation to the Elizabethan period was very different. For him, it represented the glorious past, fondly remembered by the political figures, such as the Earls of Arundel and Newcastle, to whom he dedicated his work, just as for Chapman the passing of Gloriana is followed by the influx of hungry Spartans. If Ford does indeed touch on the social and political ills of his own society by registering a voice oppositional to the Stuart monarchy, then it is little wonder that he encodes within his work a powerful vision of his own society as so ideologically repressive, so Scots, so king-dominated and so Spartan, that it can, in effect, no longer be represented as Arcadia.

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Notes

¹John Ford, *The Broken Heart*, edited by Brian Morris (London: Ernest Benn, 1965), Prologue, l.1. All further quotations from the play will be taken from this edition.

²See for instance S.P. Sherman, 'Stella and *The Broken Heart*', *PMLA*, XXIV (1909), pp.274-85, and, more recently, Verna Ann Foster and Stephen Foster, 'Structure and History in *The Broken Heart*: Sparta, England, and the "Truth"', *English Literary Renaissance*, 1988, pp.305-28.

³*The Broken Heart*, ed. Morris, introduction, p.xi.

⁴For the resonances of Cyprus within Sidney's own work, and on the symbolic logic of Sidney's geography in general, see Constance C. Relihan, 'The Geography of the Arcadian Landscape: Constructing Otherness, Preserving Europe', in *Narrative Strategies in Early English Fiction*, edited by Wolfgang Gortschacher and Holger Klein (New York and Salzburg: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), pp.167-86.

⁵Sir Philip Sidney, *The Old Arcadia*, edited by Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), introduction, p.xi.

⁶ The Old Arcadia, introduction, pp.xi-xii.

⁷ *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, in John Ford: Three Plays, edited by Keith Sturgess (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), II.ii.1-17.

⁸ See my note (published under my maiden name of Lisa Cronin) 'A Source for John Ford's *Love's Sacrifice*: the life of Carlo Gesualdo', Notes and Queries, new series, 35 (March, 1988), pp.66-7.

⁹ See my forthcoming 'Italy Revisited: John Ford's Last Plays', in *The Italian World of English Renaissance Drama*, edited by Michele Marrapodi and Ton Hoenselaars.

¹⁰ See Martin N. Raitiere, *Faire Bitts: Sir Philip Sidney and Renaissance Political Theory* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1984).

¹¹ Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, edited by Maurice Evans (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), p.398. All further quotations from the new Arcadia

will be taken from this edition; reference will be given in the text and the two versions will be distinguished by the prefix O.A. or N.A.

¹² Rowland Wymer, Webster and Ford (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), p. 108. He goes on to consider some of these (pp.108-9)

¹³R. Jordan, 'Calantha's dance in The Broken Heart', Notes and Queries, 214 (1969), pp.294-5.

¹⁴John Ford, *The Broken Heart*, edited by T.J.B. Spencer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), introduction, p.19.

¹⁵*Broken Heart*, ed. Spencer, introduction, p.23.

¹⁶*Broken Heart*, ed. Spencer, introduction, p.21. Elizabeth Rawson, in *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1990), also suggests that Ford chose Sparta because he 'felt it to be a suitable setting for his heroine's constancy' and points out that 'the later ancient sources do paint Spartan women as models of conjugal chastity' (pp.208 and 209).

¹⁷Foster and Foster, 'Structure and History', p.307.

¹⁸Foster and Foster, 'Structure and History', p.308.

¹⁹Foster and Foster, 'Structure and History', p.323.

²⁰Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), p.179.

²¹Marrion Lomax, *Stage Images and Traditions: Shakespeare to Ford* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.179.

²²Robert Garland, 'Juvenile Delinquency in the Graeco-Roman World', *History Today*, October, 1991, pp.12-19, p.16.

²³For justification for this phrase, see Lisa Hopkins, 'City Tragedy: Middleton, Shakespeare, Ford', *Compar(a)ison* 1 (1994), pp.71-6.

²⁴See also Lisa Hopkins, 'Acting the Self: John Ford's Perkin Warbeck and the Politics of Imposture', *Cahiers Elisabethains*, 48 (October, 1995), pp.31-6.

²⁵For the date, see George Chapman, *The Widow's Tears*, edited by Ethel M. Smeak (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), introduction, pp.xi-xii. All quotations from the play will be taken from this edition and reference will be given in the text.

²⁶Wymer (Webster and Ford, p.119) also suggests that the manner of Orgilus' death may recall that of another Chapman character, Bussy D'Ambois.

²⁷William Shakespeare, *Othello*, edited by Kenneth Muir (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), V.2.357-8.